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/footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means: it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned w[illegible]n they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not

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to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

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Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

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In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one
837 spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tĩgo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tĩgõ-ne, in order to express,

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835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115] [797]

> 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

•581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

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• 581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkáko (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkáko brother.

• 581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three
[797] years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

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864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge
• [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during
[593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuetis non fit passio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

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592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. 582 It is the group that is primarily interested in its realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã̄-sa or Mã̄-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã̄. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã̄, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã̄-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797] 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

• 581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

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10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

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• 581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myãsé.

583 *[192] In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

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562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamũwũ* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamũwũ* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamũwũ* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamũwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[587] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakũ* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hãpyako (listen!).